COCHIN
LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL PROCEEDINGS

OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE LEGISLATIVE SESSION, 1117

Monday, *the* $\frac{\textit{23rd February 1942}}{\textit{12th Kumbham 1117}}$

The Council met in the Council Hall, Ernakulam, at half-past nine of the clock with the Hon'ble the President (A. F. W. DIXON Esq., I.C.S.), in the Chair.

Messrs. T. V. Subramania Ayyar and H. J. Walmesley were absent.

Motion of No-confidence in the Minister for Rural Development

"This House has no confidence in the Hon'ble Minister for Rural Development" **[Mr. C. V. Iyyu]**

Mr. President: Before calling on Mr. C. V. Iyyu to move his motion, I have one or two remarks to make. The first is the official members will take no part in the discussion and will not vote. And the second point is, that in order to set a limit to the discussion, I propose, as on previous occasions, that the mover and the leaders will have 20 minutes for their speeches, and the other members 15 minutes each. I now request Mr. Iyyu to move the motion.

Mr. C. V. Iyyu *(Kunnamkulam):* Mr. President, Sir, I beg to move the motion of which I have given notice on last Friday, that *this House has no confidence in the Hon'ble Minister for Rural Development.*

In commending this motion for the acceptance of the House, I am asking your verdict on a question of vital importance to the State—whether this House proposes to continue its confidence in the Hon'ble Minister for Rural Development or to endorse the growing conviction entertained by a very large section of the public and the members of this House that the Hon'ble Minister has failed to discharge the solemn duties incumbent on his office in a manner which public interests demand.

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When, with the inauguration of the constitutional reforms in Cochin, a Minister was appointed to administer the transferred subjects as the trusted guardian of most of the nation-building departments of the State, departments which are most intimately connected with the every day life of the people, it was our legitimate aspiration that within a reasonable time this House would have the pleasure of witnessing a substantial progress in the welfare of the rural population. I am confident that I am not striking a discordant note when I say that we have been miserably disappointed in our expectations. The long period of well-nigh three and forty months which have elapsed since the Hon'ble Minister stepped into the shoes of his illustrious predecessor of revered memory, has been a monotonous period of wasted years in the history of our constitution. The clog of conservatism and lack of imagination and initiative against which this House has been fighting for long, continue in the same or even worse strain as a perpetual clog on progress and public welfare. If anything has relieved the dull monotony of this disappointing period it is a handful of ill-conceived schemes which, starting by fits and leading into confusion and chaos stand today as stupendous monuments of misdirected energy and capital. While the State wanted less of talk and more of action, we got more of talk and less of action. Those departments which in their mode of working have become the proverbial "white elephants" of the State continue unmolested in the same old fashion with little or no concern for the purpose of their existence. Solemn promises made in definite directions for the solution of some of the most disquieting problems affecting the vital interests of the rural population still remain unfulfilled and have gradually become lines written on water.

In the first budget of the present ministry this House was given to understand that it is the intention of the ministry to convert the whole of Cochin State into a group of model panchayats, and a modest beginning was made that year. Two and a half-years have now gone by, and we have so far seen no progress whatsoever in that direction. Nay, the last budget does not even contain a wisper of that scheme. While I do not for a moment lend my approval to the scheme of model panchayats and villages as formulated by the Hon'ble Minister, I claim a right to maintain that either the Hon'ble Minister had no definite and correct notions about the practicability of that programme when he started it or having chalked out a programme, he has failed to keep up a continuity of policy, it is difficult to say which of them is worse than the other. But it is certain that neither is commendable. This is but one of the many instances of the half-digested, half-attempted and disappointedly abandoned programmes of the Hon'ble Minister.

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The Hon'ble Minister cannot for a moment take shelter in the oft-quoted slogan of "lack of funds." On his own admission the reserved half of the Government has been very liberal to him. I am only echoing the sentiments given expression to by the Hon'ble Minister himself when I say that he had nothing but sympathy and co-operation from the reserved half and more particularly from the Ex-Diwan, Sir Shanmukham Chetty. As a member of the opposition, it is my legitimate pride to observe in this connection that the hon'ble members on this side of the House have never failed in their duty of extending their whole-hearted co-operation to the Hon'ble Minister in strengthening his hands to demand larger and larger allotments for his departments. But it is a matter of extreme regret for us that, as the misfortune of the State would have it, the Hon'ble Minister has failed to take advantage of the brilliant opportunities offered to him both by this House and the Government. Nothing can be a more eloquent testimony of the failure of the Hon'ble Minister to rise up to the occasion and utilise the liberal facilities placed at his disposal for the best advantages of the State in a manner becoming the high office of trust and honour which the Hon'ble Minister has the rare privilege of occupying.

Sir, I will be failing in my duty if in this connection I do not invite the attention of this House to one of the most grievous omissions on the part of the Hon'ble Minister in that he did not rise up to the occasion to play his legitimate role in demanding a complete control over the cyclone relief works, a subject which ought to have been rightly claimed by him as belonging to his portfolio. This is an instance of want of vigilance and anxiety on the part of the Hon'ble Minister to snatch at every available opportunity to widen the scope of the transferred half. Constitutional development is not solely a creature of written law; it is more the result of healthy convention built up under the fostering care of a watchful minister who knows where and when he can enhance the scope of his portfolios and supplement the written constitution. That the Hon'ble Minister has almost shut his eyes against the problem of cyclone relief works which affect the vital interests of a vast majority of a rural population in the State is a grave injustice, not only to the public at length, but also to the pace of constitutional advancement in Cochin.

I do not propose to appropriate the valuable time of this House by multiplying instances. I am confident that the few typical ones which I have placed before this House are sufficient to substantiate the general character of the criticisms I have offered so far and also to convince this House that the Hon'ble Minister, instead

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of accelerating the pace of constitutional progress in Cochin, has been but a stumbling block in its path.

Sir, the failure of one Minister cannot be the failure of a constitution. History of democratic nations has taught us that it is only by the timely displacement of the rusted parts of the democratic machinery by new and better ones that the efficiency of administration and the prestige of democracy can be maintained.

I am extremely sorry that the Hon'ble Minister has driven us to the necessity of passing through this ordeal. It is one of the inevitable and unpleasant tasks of the opposition that it has to face facts in the interests of the country irrespective of personal considerations. When the Hon'ble Minister and the opposition cannot see eye to eye with each other in respect of the administration of the transferred subjects we have necessarily to seek a verdict of this House.

With these words, I commend this motion for the acceptance of the House.

Mr. M. L. Joseph *(Latin-Christians-Cranganur)*: I second the motion.

Mr. A. B. Salem *(Mattancheri)*: Sir, since the constitution began with a reserved half and a transferred half, this, I think, is the third motion of no-confidence, two regular and the third a cut in the Minister's salary which was taken as a censure motion. There is no doubt that when there is a ministry which can be handled by non-officials, there will be covetous eyes upon that great position of a minister enjoying both the confidence of the Government and of the people as assembled here. That covetousness should not be the motive for unseating any minister. The unseating of a minister, particularly in a dyarchy, such as what we have in Cochin, is not a case of merely unseating a person from his office which will certainly be filled by somebody else. But we must see what the consequences of such an attempt to unseat a minister off and on will have, upon the public life of a country. If the minister cannot be sure that he could have the full confidence of the House or that of a majority, he will not be in a position to initiate any good policy, much less to carry it out. If no-confidence motions are held as a *Damocles' sword*, on the head of a minister, how on earth, I ask responsible members of this House, can a minister consistently with public interest and that attention that should be bestowed upon public affairs, transact the business of a country? The same trouble would come upon any minister. That is what I want to avoid. It is not a question of a minister from our party being subjected to criticism or to a no-confidence motion as this. I say, you must be

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guided not only by simple consideration of personality, but by the highest spirit of service and doing good to the country at large. Supposing a Minister comes today and on a flimsy ground, without giving any reason whatsoever, a majority sits here and finds that the Minister's party is not here, the benches are thin, and then you table a no-confidence motion. A no-confidence motion can come at any time without notice, and the President will be bound, if he thinks it is in order, at once to fix a date within ten days for its discussion. That is the position now. I want to bring you to that position. Here, we are not in a full-fledged constitutional government yet. In that case, you can unseat and seat a minister every week you like, as in France. But here, we are in a dyarchy which is a novel form of government with one half absolutely irresponsible and the other half responsible, and both responsible and irresponsible halves must harmonise and carry on the administration. That is the difficulty you have. Let us see what the conditions are in Cochin under the constitution for a motion of this kind. What are the restrictions that are placed, and why are such restrictions placed? The first part of the rule is, a motion of no-confidence in the Minister, or of disapproving his policy generally or particularly, can only be made with the consent of the President. That is the first condition laid down. And apart from that consent, there are other restrictions that follow the rule. Now, I ask, what is the necessity of the consent of the President of the House for a motion against the Minister, who can be seated or unseated by the non-official members? Why is the consent made a condition precedent and most important prime consideration in the rule? Because a motion of no-confidence, if it is unreasonable and if it is not based on proper considerations, if it tantamounts to an abuse of the provision, the Chair can withhold its consent and the motion will not come at all. The other rule says, if the President thinks that if in his opinion, it is in order, (after the motion is put before the Secretary before the sitting of the day) then the member must ask for leave after question time; if in the opinion of the President, it is in order, then only he can read it to the House. Before that there is a condition attached that it must be with the consent of the President. Can the President withhold his consent, I ask? The other circumstances are under which the President, acting on his own authority, refuses the tabling of a motion of no-confidence in the House. Under the present constitution he can. Why is it this discretion is given to one single person, the President, when even other provisions are there? That is for the purpose of safe-guarding the progress of the constitution itself.

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Mr. T. K. Nayar *(Pazhayannur):* The present motion is allowed.

Mr. P. Govinda Menon *(Mulakunnathukavu):* In case you get the ministry, he is giving instructions.

Mr. K. R. Viswambharan *(Ezhuvas-Talappalli):* Great constitutional pandit!

Mr. A. B. Salem *(Mattancheri):* I am glad there are constitutional pandits and constitutional students. *(Laughter).* That is what we want. Let us study the thing. Let us be guided by one main object—the object towards which we are all attempting? If there are reasons weighty enough to bring a no-confidence motion, certainly, no President will be withholding his consent. But, supposing it is a frivolous attack, a baseless attempt or an abuse of the provisions of the regulation giving us power of tabling a no-confidence motion, then it will be within the competence of the President to disallow it. The rule is made in order to prevent any abuse. Well, it is given to the President. Suppose the President also allows it. We come to the House and say 20 members of this House should also be prepared to grant leave. Therefore several hard restrictions are placed. Now, we have come over the obstacles that have been placed in the obstacle race. We have got the consent of the President. We ha e got the leave of the 20 members of the House and we are on the discussion. Whether the majority of the House will be for the motion or not is the last obstacle in the obstacle race. Therefore, I ask, since the last motion of no-confidence has been tabled in this House, what has happened to shake the confidence of this House? What has taken place in the last twelve months, or less than twelve months, to again attempt to unseat the Minister? This House was satisfied on the last occasion that all the charges that were brought against the Minister were not sufficient enough in the opinion of this House to unseat the present Minister. I ask since then what has happened? Two things I have noted down here. One is regarding the Panchayat administration and the other, the cyclone relief effort.

Now as regards the first part, I have to tell you that the Panchayat business is entirely in the hands of the people at large. That is a matter of experiment in self-government in which all money has to be found by the Government and the administration is by the people of the villages. No doubt, a new system has not been introduced and it is not possible to introduce. It is a means of education for the people in self-government. Several mistakes will be committed by the people themselves; several wire-pullings will go on in the villages and groups, and it is very difficult,

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humanly speaking, for any Minister to give satisfaction to all people. Satisfaction to some can always be given, and if a Minister tries to please everyone, he will be able to satisfy none, and a man who attempts to please everybody in the world, pleases nobody. Therefore, if there is any want of rectitude, or consideration in the interest of the public which the Minister has withheld, specific charges should have been tabled. Simply to say in general words 'Panchayat administration is not satisfactory' carries no conviction to any reasonable mind.

Then comes the cyclone affair. The cyclone affair, as we all know, was at once taken up by His Highness Himself, and His Highness' Government handled the matter. No need there was for the Minister. No doubt the Minister has been giving whole-hearted services whenever required and unasked for to the Government—to the other half. He has been freely giving his opinion, he has been freely giving his views on what he was seeing in the country, and has been helping in every direction for the administration of cyclone distress relief. What is there to saddle the Minister with the giving of relief regarding cyclone? He was not handling the matter at all. He was not in charge of the port-folio. The Government took upon themselves to organise as best as possible to give as much relief as possible, and in as sympathetic manner as possible, and charged the Diwan Peishkar and all other officers of the Government with all duties and responsibilities regarding the giving of cyclone relief. Therefore, I submit that reasonable opinion in the country and in this House would not think that there is sufficient ground for tabling another no-confidence motion such as this. I submit that the reasons strutted forth in this House for the purpose of giving strength to this no-confidence motion fall to the ground. And if I may say so, a coalition of parties and seceding members have taken place. And for what purpose? I cannot see any policy yet in it. But there have been differences of opinion in our party and if it is an exploitation of the differences of opinion and of going about in the country and gathering of opinion for the purpose of simply unseating the Minister, then I say that is a position which is not very correct. I do not want to use any hard words, because this is not the time. If we succeed in unseating the Minister, we will still carry on; and what is the harm if one person changes? I don't think any harm will come to the country, provided we all intend in giving, to the best of our ability, our services and sacrifices also, for the promotion of the best interests of the country and the administration and the advancement of the constitution. Therefore, I would respectfully ask the hon'ble members to think very carefully whether we are justified in taking this step, this extreme step, and that particularly

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at a time when we have a great war at our doors. Yesterday while I was at Trichur, working in the interest of this no-confidence motion.....

Mr. K. R. Viswambharan *(Ezhuvas-Talappalli):* Canvassing members?

Mr. A. B. Salem *(Mattancheri):* Certainly. We are entitled to do this as you have done. I do not feel it to be any disgrace.

Mr. President: Your time is up.

Several Hon'ble Members: He has already exceeded 15 minutes fixed by the Chair.

Mr. A. B. Salem *(Mattancheri):* I was not here and I did not know the limit of time. I may be allowed two minutes more.

Mr. President: Yes. You are allowed two minutes more, since you were not aware of the limit of time.

Mr. A. B. Salem *(Mattancheri):* Well. There were not many weighty reasons for several things. As I have no time to give you the full story, I don't want to do so. I was willing to give the full story, but your mover did not require it. But, I think this kind of combination for a purpose like this is certainly not one in the best interests of the country. Therefore, I would now wind up and say that when a war is at our doors and when, while at Trichur, I was told that bombs had already fallen in Mattancheri and the whole of Mattancheri was ablaze,—(I said that when I left Cochin at 12 o'clock, there was no fire then—I am surprised such is the kind of rumour afloat—) is this the time when we should send away men who have experience in the administration, a non-official who has experience in the administration from the beginning of the constitution, who will be able to handle difficult problems of war and other things like that—is this the time and the opportune moment to table such a resolution? I therefore respectfully beg the House not to allow any change at this war time and the time of the crisis in the country, aud unseat the Minister and lose all the experience of a man that we have at the helm of affairs from the non-official side. With these few words, I oppose this motion.

മിസ്റ്റർ വി. കെ. കുട്ടി: മിസ്റ്റർ പ്രസിഡണ്ട്, സർ, ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട കുന്ദംകുളം മെമ്പർ ഇവിടെ അവതരിപ്പിച്ചിരിക്കുന്ന ഈ അവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയം എത്രമാത്രം സന്ദർഭോചിതമാണെന്നും അതിലെ ആരോപണങ്ങൾ എത്ര അർത്ഥശൂന്യങ്ങളാണെന്നും ഈ സഭക്കും, ഈ സഭയുടെ നടപടികളെ സൂക്ഷ്മനിരീക്ഷണം ചെയ്തുപോരുന്ന പൊതുജനങ്ങൾക്കും നല്ലപോലെ അറിയാവുന്നതാണ്. ഒരു മന്ത്രിസഭക്കുമാറ്റം വരുത്തുമ്പോൾ അതിന് പൊതുപ്രാധാന്യം അർഹിക്കുന്നതും ഭരണകൂടത്തെ സ്പർശിക്കുന്നതുമായ പല കാരണങ്ങളും ഉണ്ടായിരിക്കേണ്ടതു് അത്യാവശ്യമാണെന്നു രാഷ്ട്രീയവിജ്ഞയത്തിൽ എ. ബി. സി. ഡി. പഠിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളവക്കെല്ലാം മനസ്സിലാ

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ക്കുവാൻ കഴിയുന്ന ഒരു പരമാത്മാം മാത്രമാണു്. ഇംഗ്ലണ്ടിൽ ഈയിടെ മന്ത്രി സഭക്കു മാറ്റമുണ്ടായി. യുദ്ധം തുടങ്ങിയതിനു ശേഷംതന്നെ ക്യാബിനറ്റിൽ പല മാറ്റങ്ങളും ഉണ്ടായിട്ടുണ്ടു്. ഫ്റാൻസിൽ ആഴ്ചതോറും എന്നപോലെ മന്ത്രിസഭ മാറിക്കൊണ്ടിരിക്കുന്നു. അങ്ങിനെ ലോകത്തിന്റെ നാനാഭാഗങ്ങളിലും മന്ത്രിസഭക്കു അല്ലെങ്കിൽ മന്ത്രിസഭയുടെ വിഭാഗത്തിനു മാറ്റങ്ങൾ ഉണ്ടായിക്കൊണ്ടിരിക്കുന്നുണ്ടെന്നു കാണാവുന്നതാണു്. എന്തുകൊണ്ടാണു് ഇങ്ങിനെയുള്ള പരിവർത്തനങ്ങൾ ഉണ്ടായിട്ടുള്ളതെന്നു ചിന്തിക്കുമ്പോൾ, ആ രാജ്യങ്ങളിലെ നടപടികളേയും, സ്ഥിതിഗതികളേയുംപറ്റി മനസ്സിലാക്കുമ്പോൾ മേല്പറഞ്ഞരീതിയിലുള്ള പരിവർത്തനങ്ങൾ അവിടങ്ങളിൽ ഉണ്ടാകേണ്ടതു ആവശ്യമാണെന്നും അവിടെ കാണപ്പെടുന്ന രാഷ്ട്രീയ വികാസഗതി ഇവിടത്തേതിൽ നിന്നും വളരെ അധികം വിഭിന്നമാണെന്നും നമുക്കറിയാം; ഈ അവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയ പ്രയോക്താവായ മി. ഇയ്യുവിനും അറിയാം. ഇൻഡ്യയിൽ കോൺഗ്രസ് ഗവൺമെണ്ടു് മന്ത്രിസഭകൾ രൂപീകരിച്ചിരുന്നു. യുദ്ധം ആരംഭിച്ചതിനുശേഷം പുതിയ മന്ത്രിസഭകൾ രാജിവെച്ചു് പഴയരീതിയിൽ ഭരണം തുടർന്നു. എന്താണു് അങ്ങിനെ ഒരു പരിവർത്തനം ഉണ്ടാകുവാൻ കാരണം എന്നുള്ളതു് രാജ്യത്തിന്റെ സ്ഥിതിഗതികളും, പാർട്ടികളുടെ ആദർശവും വെച്ചുനോക്കുമ്പോൾ നമുക്കെല്ലാവർക്കും കാണാവുന്നതാണു്. സിൻഡിൽ മന്ത്രിസഭക്കു മാറ്റമുണ്ടായി. അതിനും പല കാരണങ്ങളും ഉണ്ടായിരുന്നു. അതാതുരാജ്യത്തു ഉണ്ടായിക്കൊണ്ടിരിക്കുന്ന വിപ്ലവങ്ങളേയും സംഭവ വികാസങ്ങളേയും അടിസ്ഥാനമാക്കി ശരിയായ കാരണങ്ങളോടുകൂടിയാണു് പരിവർത്തനങ്ങൾ ഉണ്ടാകുന്നതെന്നു വിശദമാകുന്നു. ഇൻഡ്യൻ ഇൻഡ്യയിൽ ഇദംപ്രഥമമായി ഉത്തരവാദിത്വഭരണം ഏർപ്പെടുത്തിയതു കൊച്ചിയിൽ മാത്രമാണു്. മൈസൂറിലെ ഭരണപരിഷ്കാരത്തോടു തുലനം ചെയ്യുമ്പോൾ നമ്മുടെ ഭരണപരിഷ്കാരം ഒരുപടി മുന്നോട്ടുപോയിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നും അവിടത്തേക്കാൾ കൂടുതലായ സ്വാതന്ത്ര്യം ഇവിടത്തെ മന്ത്രിക്കുണ്ടെന്നും ഇവിടെ മന്ത്രിക്കു ദത്തവകുപ്പുകളിൽ പൂർണ്ണസ്വാതന്ത്ര്യമുണ്ടെന്നും സമ്മതിക്കാതെ തരമില്ല. ഇങ്ങിനെ പലതുകൊണ്ടും പ്രാധാന്യമർഹിക്കുന്ന ഒരു ഉത്തരവാദഭരണക്രമത്തിൽ മാറ്റം വരുത്തുവാൻ എന്തുകാരണങ്ങളാണു്, എന്തു സംഭവങ്ങളാണു് ഈ കഴിഞ്ഞ കാലങ്ങൾക്കുള്ളിലുണ്ടായിട്ടുള്ളതെന്നുള്ള സംഗതിയെപ്പറ്റിയാണു് നമുക്കാലോചിക്കുവാനുള്ളതു്. പ്രമേയകർത്താവു ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട മന്ത്രിയുടെ തലയിൽവെച്ചതായ ചാർജ്ജുകൾ കേട്ടപ്പോൾ വാസ്തവത്തിൽ എനിക്കതുതന്നെ തോന്നി. കൊച്ചിയിലെ മന്ത്രിഭരണത്തെ അടിമറിയ്ക്കുവാൻ ഇപ്പോൾ എന്തുസംഭവിച്ചുവെന്നു ആലോചിക്കുക. ഇവിടെ അങ്ങിനെ എന്തെങ്കിലും സംഭവിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നു മി. ഇയ്യു കൊണ്ടുവന്നിട്ടുള്ള ചാർജ്ജുകളിൽനിന്നു തെളിയുന്നില്ല. ഈ അവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയം മൂന്നാമത്തേതാണല്ലൊ. ഇതുവരെ മൂന്നുതരത്തിലാണു് ഇതു് ഇവിടെ അവതരിപ്പിക്കപ്പെട്ടിട്ടുള്ളതു്. ആദ്യം അവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയമായി ഉദ്ദേശിച്ചുകൊണ്ടു് ഒരു ഉപക്ഷേപം അവതരിപ്പിച്ചതു് വാദപ്രതിവാദത്തിനു വന്നപ്പോൾ അതു് മന്ത്രിയുടെ പേരിൽ ഉള്ള ഒരു സെൻസർമോഷനായിട്ടു് വിചാരിക്കണമെന്നാണു് അന്നു് ഒരു മെമ്പർ ഇവിടെ പ്രസ്താവിച്ചതു്. അതിനെ അടിസ്ഥാനപ്പെടുത്തിയുള്ള ഒരു വലിയ വാദപ്രതിവാദം ഈ സഭയിൽ നടക്കുകയും, അതിന്റെ അടിസ്ഥാനരാഹിത്യത്തെ മുൻനിറുത്തികൊണ്ടു് അല്ലെങ്കിൽ വ്യക്തിപരമായ വിദ്വേഷങ്ങളെ മുൻനിറുത്തിക്കൊണ്ടു് ഈ സഭ അതിനെ തള്ളിക്കളയുകയും ചെയ്തു. രണ്ടാമത്തെ അവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയവും തള്ളിക്കളഞ്ഞു. വാസ്തവത്തിൽ ന്യായമായ കാരണങ്ങളുള്ള പക്ഷം എത്ര അവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയങ്ങൾ വന്നാലും ഞങ്ങൾക്കു വിരോധമില്ല. മൂന്നു മാസംമുമ്പു് ആ ഭാഗത്തിരിക്കുന്ന പാർട്ടിയിലെ പ്രമുഖാംഗങ്ങളായ ഒന്നരണ്ടുനേ

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താക്കന്മാർ ചെയ്ത പ്രസംഗവും വാഗ്ദാനവും ഞാനിപ്പോൾ വിസ്മയപൂർവ്വം അനുസ്മരിക്കുന്നു. ഈ കഴിഞ്ഞ മൂന്നുമാസങ്ങൾക്കുള്ളിൽ പൊതുജനങ്ങൾക്കോ അവരുടെ പ്രതിനിധികൾക്കോ ക്ഷോഭംവരുത്തക്കവണ്ണം ഉത്തരവാദഭരണക്രമത്തിൽ യാതൊരു തകരാറും ഉണ്ടായതായി കാണുന്നില്ല. മേല്പറഞ്ഞ നേതാക്കന്മാരുടെ വിചാരഗതിയിൽ മാത്രമാണ് തകരാറു കാണുന്നതു്. എത്രതന്നെ വന്നാലും ഈ മിനിസ്റ്ററെ ഞങ്ങൾ വെച്ചുപൊറുപ്പിക്കുകയില്ല, എന്നു് വലിയ സ്വരത്തിൽ കരങ്ങൾ ഉയർത്തിക്കൊണ്ടു് ആഹ്ലാദഭരിതരായി പ്രസംഗിച്ച ആ നേതാക്കന്മാരുടെ അന്നത്തെ ആദർശങ്ങൾ ഇന്നെവിടെയിരിക്കുന്നുവെന്നാണു് ഞാൻ ചോദിക്കുന്നതു്.

മിസ്റ്റർ ടി. കെ. നായർ: എത്രതന്നെ വന്നാലും ഈ മിനിസ്റ്ററെ സപ്പോർട്ട് ചെയ്യുമെന്നു പറഞ്ഞതെവിടെയാണെന്നു പ്രൊസീഡിംഗ്സിൽനിന്നു കാണിച്ചുതന്നാൽ കൊള്ളാം.

മിസ്റ്റർ വി. കെ. കുട്ടി: അതേവാക്കുതന്നെ പറയുവാൻ നിവൃത്തിയില്ലെങ്കിലും ഈ അർത്ഥം അതിനുണ്ടെന്നാണു ഞാൻ വിചാരിക്കുന്നതു്.

മിസ്റ്റർ പി. ഗോവിന്ദമേനോൻ: ഓർമ്മയിൽനിന്നുള്ളേ പറയുന്നതു്?

മിസ്റ്റർ വി. കെ. കുട്ടി: ഈ അർത്ഥം അതിനുണ്ടെന്നു ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട പഴയന്നൂർ മെമ്പർ സമ്മതിച്ചാൽമതി. അങ്ങിനെ വലിയ സ്വരത്തിൽ പ്രസംഗിച്ചു്, ഈ മിനിസ്റ്ററെ ആകാശത്തിലേക്കു കയറുവാൻ തുടങ്ങിയ ആ നേതാക്കന്മാരുടെ മനസ്ഥിതിയെപ്പറ്റി പൊതുജനങ്ങൾ വിധിച്ചുകൊള്ളട്ടെ. രാജ്യത്തിലെ ആവശ്യങ്ങൾ പലവിധത്തിലാണു്. ചില ആവശ്യങ്ങൾ സാധിക്കുവാൻ വിപ്ലവം വേണ്ടിവന്നേക്കാം. അങ്ങിനെ വിപ്ലവം പരിവർത്തനത്തിനു നിദാനമായിതീരുന്നു. റഷ്യയിൽ വിപ്ലവം ഉണ്ടായി; സോഷ്യലിസം അവിടെ നടമാടി. അതിനുള്ള കാരണങ്ങൾ ചരിത്രത്തിൽനിന്നും നമുക്കറിയാം. അതുപോലെയുള്ള കാരണങ്ങളും സ്ഥിതിഗതികളും കൊച്ചീരാജ്യത്തിലെ ഉത്തരവാദിത്വഭരണത്തിന്റെ അടിമറിച്ചിലിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ചിടത്തോളം ഉണ്ടായിട്ടില്ല. വ്യക്തിപരമായ ലക്ഷ്യങ്ങളെ മനസ്സിൽവെച്ചുകൊണ്ടു് സമയം കിട്ടുമ്പോഴെല്ലാം പൊതുജനങ്ങളുടെയിടയിൽ തെറ്റിദ്ധാരണയുളവാക്കുന്നതിനും, അവരെ വശീകരിക്കുന്നതിനും വേണ്ടിയുള്ള പ്രവർത്തനങ്ങളാണു് ഇവിടെയുണ്ടായിട്ടുള്ളതെന്നു് മാത്രമേ ഞാൻ പറയുന്നുള്ളൂ. പ്ലാറ്റ്ഫാറങ്ങളിൽ കയറിനിന്നു പഴയ പ്രസംഗങ്ങൾ ചെയ്തുകൊണ്ടു് കാര്യമില്ല. അവർ പറയുന്ന സംഗതിയിൽ വല്ല പരമാർത്ഥവുമുണ്ടോ എന്നാണാലോചിക്കേണ്ടതു്. ഈ നേതാക്കന്മാരുടെ പ്രസംഗങ്ങൾക്കുശേഷം ഈ മൂന്നുമാസത്തിനുള്ളിൽ ഇവിടെ എന്തു സംഭവിച്ചു; ഈ മന്ത്രി എന്തു് അപരാധം ചെയ്തുവെന്നു ഞാൻ ചോദിക്കുന്നു. ദത്തവകുപ്പുകളുടെ ഭരണത്തിനു് എന്തുകോട്ടമാണുണ്ടായിട്ടുള്ളതു് ? ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട ഒരു മെമ്പർ ഇതിനിടെ ഒരു പത്രപ്രസ്താവന ചെയ്തതായി പത്രങ്ങളിൽ കണ്ടു. ഇൻഡ്യൻ നാഷണൽ കോൺഗ്രസ്സ് ആദർശമനുസരിച്ചു ഈ മിനിസ്ട്രി പ്രവർത്തിക്കുന്നില്ലെന്നാണു് ടി പ്രസ്താവനയിൽ പറയുന്നതു്. വാസ്തവത്തിൽ അതു സാദ്ധ്യമല്ലെന്നു കോൺഗ്രസ്സിനെപ്പറ്റി മനസ്സിലാക്കുവാൻ സാധിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള എനിക്കു പറയുവാൻ കഴിയും. നാട്ടുരാജ്യങ്ങളിൽ കോൺഗ്രസ്സിന്റെ ആദർശങ്ങളും പ്രവർത്തനങ്ങളും മുഴുവനും പകർത്തേണ്ട ആവശ്യമില്ലെന്നു കോൺഗ്രസ്സ് നേതാക്കന്മാർ അഭിപ്രായപ്പെട്ടിട്ടുണ്ടു്. എന്നതന്നെയല്ല കൊച്ചിയിൽ സ്ഥിരതയോടുകൂടിയ ഏതു പാർട്ടിയാണുള്ളതു്, ഏതു കോൺഗ്രസ്സാണുള്ളതെന്നു ഞാൻ ചോദിക്കുന്നു. കൊച്ചിയിൽ ബ്രിട്ടിഷ് ഇൻഡ്യയിലെ കോൺഗ്രസ്സോ ലീഗോ

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ഇല്ല. അധഃകൃത പ്രശ്നം, മുസ്ലീം പ്രശ്നം, ഹിന്ദു പ്രശ്നം, സെൻട്രൽ ക്രിസ്ത്യൻ പ്രശ്നം എന്നീ പ്രശ്നങ്ങളല്ലാതെ ഈ രാജ്യത്ത് എന്തു പോളിറ്റിക്സാണുള്ളത്? ഞാൻ എന്റെ അനുഭവം പറയുകയാണ്. ഈ രാജ്യത്തു യാതൊരു പോളിറ്റിക്സും ഇല്ല. സാമുദായികമായ കലഹം ഒന്നു മാത്രമല്ലാതെ ഈ രാജ്യത്തു യാതൊന്നും ജീവിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നില്ല. അതിനു വല്ല പരിഹാരവും ഉണ്ടാക്കുവാൻ സാധിക്കുമോ എന്നു നമുക്ക് നോക്കിയാൽമതി. കോൺഗ്രസ്സ് ആദർശമനുസരിച്ചു ഭരണം ഇവിടെ നടത്തുവാൻ സാദ്ധ്യമല്ല. മൂന്നു മാസത്തിനുള്ളിലുണ്ടായ ഈ പരിവർത്തനം ഏതെല്ലാം വഴികളിൽ കൂടി ഉണ്ടായിട്ടുള്ളതാണെന്നു എനിക്കറിയാം. "തുരപ്പൻ കുഴിച്ച കുഴിയിൽ പാമ്പു കയറി പോകുക" എന്നൊരു നാടോടി സംസാരമുണ്ട്. അങ്ങിനെ പൌകയ്യും കാണുമ്പോൾ ആ പൌകയ്യങ്ങൾ എല്ലാം തോന്നുംപോലെ വിനയോഗിക്കാമെന്നു് ആരെങ്കിലും വിചാരിക്കുന്നുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ അതു രാജ്യത്തോടും രാജ്യവാസികളായ പൊതുജനങ്ങളോടും, സമാധാനപരമായ ഭരണകൂടത്തോടും ചെയ്യുന്ന ഒരു വലിയ അനീതിയായിരിക്കുമെന്നാണ് ഞാൻ പറയുന്നതു്. ഈ അവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയത്തിനുള്ളിൽ എന്തെല്ലാം ഗൂഢതന്ത്രങ്ങൾ നടന്നിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നും, ആരെല്ലാം രണ്ടു വഞ്ചിയിൽ ചവിട്ടിക്കൊണ്ടു യൂദാസിന്റെ വേഷം കെട്ടിയിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നും എനിക്കറിയാം. ഈ പ്രമേയത്തിൽ മനസ്സാക്ഷിയൊ ധാർമ്മികബുദ്ധിയൊ അധികമില്ലെന്നുള്ളതും ഞാൻ മനസ്സിലാക്കീട്ടുണ്ട്. (ഹീയർ, ഹീയർ) ഇങ്ങിനെയുള്ള അന്തസ്സാരവിഹീനങ്ങളായ പരിവർത്തനങ്ങൾ ഇവിടെ ഉണ്ടാകുവാൻ ആദർശസമ്പന്നരും സംസ്കാരസമ്പന്നരുമായ കൊച്ചിയിലെ പൌരാവലി പൊതുവെ സമ്മതിക്കുമെന്നു തോന്നുന്നില്ല. ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ മന്ത്രിയെ മാറ്റുന്നതിനോ അദ്ദേഹത്തിൽ അവിശ്വാസം രേഖപ്പെടുത്തുന്നതിനോ പര്യാപ്തമായ യാതൊരു സംഭവങ്ങളും ഇവിടെ നടന്നിട്ടില്ലാത്തതിനാൽ അടിസ്ഥാനരഹിതവും വിവേകശൂന്യവുമായ ഈ പ്രമേയത്തെ ഞാൻ ഏറ്റവും ശക്തിയായി എതിർക്കുകയും അദ്ദേഹത്തിലും അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ ഭരണത്തിലുമുള്ള വിശ്വാസം രേഖപ്പെടുത്തുകയും ചെയ്യുന്നു. കഴിഞ്ഞ മൂന്നുമാസങ്ങൾക്കുള്ളിൽ ചില പാട്ടിക്കാർ ഭരണമാറ്റത്തെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു പറഞ്ഞുനടന്നിട്ടുള്ള സംഭവം എനിക്കറിയാം. വളരെ യോജിപ്പോടുകൂടി ഭരണകൂടത്തെ മുന്നോട്ടു നയിക്കേണ്ട പാട്ടിക്കാർ.....

Mr. President : The hon'ble member's time is up.

***Mr. C. R. Iyyunni** *(Trichur-South):* Sir, I would in the first instance say that the position of the Minister in a dyarchical form of government does not place him with considerable powers in his hands. There are four parties that he has to satisfy. The four parties are, first the general public; the second is the members of this Council; the third is the Government; and the fourth, the palace. Of course, I do not wish to speak at large on the palace at all. But, I wish to say that in the dyarchical form of government, the hands of the Minister are not given a free motion. They are always tied. He has to satisfy all these four masters at the same time. Under such circumstances, has the proposer of the no-confidence motion made out a case to show that the Council has no-confidence in the Minister?

*Speech not corrected by the hon'ble member.

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Looking to the other side of the *Bharathapuzha*, where there is complete provincial autonomy, where all the departments are in the hands of the Government, that is, Congress Government some time back, what were their achievements? They had a very large overwhelming majority of members in the Congress. The one thing which they may give credit to is the inauguration of the prohibition in the district of Salem. That is the only thing that they have done. Probably one might say that they have done something in that line. With regard to other matters, what is it that they have done? After all, in spite of the overwhelming majority there, and in spite of the fact that their hands were not tied, how far have they progressed? To me it appears, that a Minister with practically his hands mostly tied, what can he do is, I understand, that accessibility for the general public to make their representations to the Minister. Secondly, to expedite passing of orders to the best of his ability. Thirdly to make use of the money that is entrusted to his care, however small it be, fourthly to see that unnecessary wastage is not committed, and fifthly to initiate schemes which will redound to the welfare of the people to the extent of the money that is entrusted to his care.

Now, the one charge that is levelled against him is that in the matter of the administration of Panchayats, he has not done well. I am perfectly certain that even if an angel from heaven were to descend on this earth, and do this work of nomination, there will still be complaints, because Cochin is a country where there are many communities, diverse and conflicting interests.

Mr. M. K. Devassy *(Adur):* That point is not raised.

Mr. C. R. Iyyunni *(Trichur-South):* I understand it. That is not one of the points that has been levelled against him. So far regarding the administration of the Panchayats is concerned. The other thing that has been stressed is, that the Minister did not take upon himself, was not vigilant himself to snatch the relief work from the hands of the Diwan Peishkar. The amelioration of the condition of the masses, certainly with regard to certain departments, that is Depressed Classes and so forth, of course, are in the hands of the Minister. But so far as relief work due to the cyclone and the floods is concerned, it does not fall strictly within his portfolio. It falls directly within the portfolio of the Diwan Peishkar and the Diwan Peishkar has done the work so well that this House has appreciated the sincerity and the zeal which he has exhibited in that line. So, even if the Minister has not done or did not snatch the work from the hands of the Diwan Peishkar, the work which should legitimately go to the Diwan Peishkar, nobody has suffered on account of that. That is what I wish to say. If in the departments

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that strictly fall within his portfolio, if he has misbehaved, or if he has not done things properly, I can perfectly understand that there is a valid charge against him. Then what I wish to say is, that his hands and practically his legs are being tied up by the four masters and the general public. It is well known that unless measures or steps are taken—steps of such a nature that will afford a glamour or attraction of the man-in-the-street—he is at once condemned. That is what is being done. In spite of the fact that the Congress Government, with its overwhelming majority, was installed in Madras, after all, what is t that they have been able to do? After the administration of the Madras Government for a period of two years, we hear so much against the Congress from the man-in-the-street. What is the reason? The reason is very simple. The real difficulty in the matter of administration is that so many diverse and conflicting interests have to be satisfied. If there is only one ideal, and towards that ideal you have to move without any clog or difficulty in the way, certainly it is a matter that can be easily done. That is not done. Somehow or other, the social organism is such that you have got different departments in life. For example, there is the agriculturists, there is the trader, there is the capitalist, there is the labourer and so on with diverse and conflicting interests. So if you want to do anything, let it be a piece of legislation, let it be the initiation of a particular scheme you will certainly find that there is a conflicting interest so far as the various parties are concerned. To the man-in-the-street, to the persons who are not somehow or other endowed by nature with plenty of money, there you have to be entirely different from the view of a man who by his exertion, or from his forefathers has inherited a lot of money. There is always a conflict of interests. So what the Minister, or any Government, will have to do is that it has to adjust to the conflict of interests, to attend to the claims of different people, different communities, and different aspects. It is well known to the President that in the matter of appointments various claims are urged by various communities in the State. And it is naturally so. To him it is something wonderful why there is so much of difficulty in the matter of giving loaves and fishes to the various people. There is real difficulty in that matter, because one man may be saying that a number of people must be taken into consideration. In the case of other people, it may be that the education of the particular community must be taken into consideration. And in the case of some others, it may be that the children of the officers must be given some preference. That is what we find. Naturally there will be difficulty. You have to adjust conflicting claims. How has the Minister done that business?

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Has he done that properly? Or has he gone astray and shown a partiality which is very bad? That is the whole point.

No. The only charge that I have been able to understand is in the matter of cyclone relief, he has not done anything. It does not fall properly within his portfolio. Then why should he be charged for not doing a thing which he is not entrusted with? I do not think there is sufficient justification to move a no-confidence motion regarding the Minister. The proposer has mainly confined himself to general observations with regard to the acts of the Minister. He does not particularly refer to instances where he has gone completly wrong, where he has done things unjustly. That is not what he has done. This is not the way in which he ought to have done. I do not think that is the way in which conviction can be produced in the minds of the members of this Council. To me it appears, from what the proposer has been saying in this Council, that he has not made out a case for a no-confidence motion in the Minister. Regarding the no-confidence motion, the section does not say that either in the matter of policy or particular instances, charges may be made for a general no-confidence. I perfectly understand it. But in order that it may carry conviction in the minds of the members of this Council, certainly he has to show various instances in which he has done things not properly, in which he has not done morally, in which he has done not justly. Absolutely no case has been made out. So, what I wish to say is that with the little power that is in his hands, and with ever so many clogs in the way in which he has to proceed, he has to satisfy various parties in the State—the general public, the members of the Council, the Dewan and the Palace. Is it not a very difficult matter? It is certainly a very difficult matter, nobody can gainsay that. An allusion was made to the Agricultural Department. The Government is maintaining a white elephant. It is not anything of his doing. It was there when he actually took charge. He was trying to see that the amount spent on the department is gradually brought down. When he came to know that the amount spent on the Agricultural Department is not so useful as it was thought to be at the beginning, he was trying to reduce the amount spent in that department. So also in the various other departments. That is what he has been doing. Of course, it is a matter well known that he has been making himself accessible to all the people of the country. And that is a charge that is levelled against him. He is a man who goes about the country and makes a lot of speeches, but does not do any work. I beg to submit that that is what is exactly being done by any popular government in democratic countries. Let me cite instances of the various ministers and their secretaries going about the

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Madras Presidency and delivering lectures, with a view to indicate to the public as to what are the duties of the Government Institutions, what are the duties of the Ministers, what are the duties of the Secretaries, how they are to handle the constitution. The Minister has been going about the country. To me it appears that he knows every nook and corner of the State more than all the officers put together on the Treasury Bench. He has been going about the country, inspecting and then passing final orders. As a matter of fact it appears to me, that people are alive to the fact that general satisfaction is given so far as orders are concerned. With regard to the location of wells or tanks, or the location of veterinary hospitals, or things of that kind, he goes to the spot, meets the people, talks to them, and then finally comes to the conclusion. But in the matter of Government officers, I beg to submit, they are not taking so much trouble as the Minister has been doing. Whenever he goes to a place, the persons of the locality may just invite him to address meetings of those people who are gathered there. And it is no wonder that the Minister has been presiding over those meetings. Naturally he must, because he happens to be a popular Minister. It is difficult for him to refuse. Otherwise, on that account, he becomes unpopular. What I wish to suggest is that his position is a very delicate one and he has, as far as possible, to give satisfaction to all the people. How can he do it? Various conflicting interests have to be adjusted. In such adjustments, it may so happen that he may not be able to succeed always. Anybody who is acquainted with the administration of the Government will certainly take the view that it is always difficult. You cannot have one ideal or one principle alone and to carry out that principle, if there is no clog, he need not turn this side or that side. Certainly one can understand that. But that is not the way. There is always this difficulty of conflicting claims and interests. He has to satisfy all the parties, as far as possible. I do not think that anybody will say that he has not acted conscientiously and he has spared any pains also. He has been himself attending to things by going on inspection, having talks with the people of the locality. My humble submission is he has been doing what is expected of a Minister. Every file that comes to him has been properly read over and inspected; if inspection is necessary, he goes there and sees the people and comes to the decision. If that is not the way in which it ought to be done, the man should get into a secluded place, should not talk, should not go about, but should simply sign and dispose of the papers. Certainly that is what is being done by others. If you take note of what has been done by the Congress Ministers, you will find that that was what exactly they have been doing. Under such circumstances, to me it appears that

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no case has been made out for a no-confidence motion by the proposer.

Mr. V. J. Mathai *(Planters):* Having heard the advocates of both sides, I think the House will be very glad to hear an absolute, independent and an independent member who has never wavered from the position he has taken. I would claim 20 minutes, because I am a leader, in the sense I lead myself *(laughter)*, which is not what others can speak about themselves. They are led by others. Even if the Chair will not give me 20 minutes I shall try to see, in spite of my dissatisfaction, that I confine my few remarks to 15 minutes.

Sir, I feel very seriously that this an occasion on which every man and every woman ought to speak his or her mind without fear of man, without fear of consequences, and without love of favour. For, this is an important occasion in the annals of Cochin. The experiment of the grant of self-government was the first of its kind in the whole of India. Thanks to the then Diwan, it was launched with probably a little tremour and a bit of hesitation, but with courage and conviction. And I should even say so, that that was a time when other States were looking with rather a sense of humour at the new babe which was born in the Cochin State. If that was important for Cochin, I should say, it was more important for the whole of India, and possibly for the whole world, because in India we have got, within India six hundred and odd Indian Indias; and the Princes of other States and the people holding the reins of government in other States are watching with interest, and we must add to it, with admiration, the development of the working of this experiment. Therefore I say the question of the success of the reforms, is not only of parochial or statal importance, but of inter-statal and imperial importance, and even of world importance. It is the first experiment in India. And as Professor Corley, my revered Professor of Politics used to tell us, the position of an Indian State is an anachronism. It is not a sovereign, but yet is a sovereign entity. The Sovereign of a native State is the source of all laws within the State, but at the same time, not the source of all power. And therefore it is an anachronism. Therefore the experiment of having a State within State is itself an experiment, and likewise is that of self-government within a State. It is, to say the least, much more than an experiment—it is a venture on which the fate of millions of people depend. And then the discussion of this question also is very important, of added importance, because of the times in which we are moving. Without delving into the details, and ramifications and the possibilities and potentialities of the situation, I may

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say these are times in which we must tread warily, times which are not convenient for disturbing the *status quo ante*, times in which we must, as far as possible, keep our foot-holds firm without trying to balance on one's tip-toes. Such are the times.

Now, looking dispassionately on this question, I should think that there is much in favour of maintaining the *status quo ante*. For, I ask you, what exactly are the grounds for dismissing a Minister. Seriously what should be the grounds? I say, corruption, partiality, gross incompetence and loss of power and vitality of ability to understand, and generally speaking, working not in the interest of the people, but against the interest of the people—that I think should be the grounds upon which the Minister in power should be driven out. For, these are the only grounds which entitle a man to move a no-confidence motion. It is not enough if 22 members simply say they have no confidence. I, as an independent, am entitled to ask you, what are your grounds? One, not developing the country side. It would appear that the removal of all the grievances of the country is entirely the duty of the Minister—want of water, a strong breeze, the cyclone—all these seem to be the fault of the Minister. They are natural faults, natural handicaps. Want of water in some place, excess of water in some other place, cyclone coming—all these are not the faults of the Minister.

The Model Panchayats. We all know that Panchayats require the co-operation of the people and if you say that the model panchayats have not worked, it is not the fault of the Minister. There are the Panchayat Presidents and Councillors. If the model panchayats do not work, that means the people do not work and everybody knows that it requires people's co-operation, to work out the experiment of Panchayats. I suppose I can go on.

Mr. President : You can speak till 10-46.

Mr. V. J. Mathai *(Planters):* Then the question of cyclone relief. I should say a word of compliment to the Revenue Department for having successfully countered the evils of the catastrophe, and if those evils have been encountered and the evil effects have been remedied why should we find fault with anybody? If one part of the Government takes it upon itself, why should you add and duplicate the machinery of work for the alleviation of the distress of the people. We ought to bestow a word of compliment upon the Diwan Peishkar, that sufficient remedies have been taken as far as was humanly possible to alleviate the distress and the grievances of the people. To say that the Minister did not do it, when other people were doing it, is not justified.

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Then, without going into the merits of the respective candidates, I, as an independent, am entitled to ask you, when you want to drive a party in power, what is the alternative? Sir, I want to go back a minute to show you the working of our parties. I have a complaint about the working of the party system here which reflects very badly upon the experiment which we have been making. This House started with two parties—the Congress Party consisting of 15 and the State Congress Party consisting of 12 or 13 members.

The first action of the State Congress Party was in offering the post of the Deputy President to three adventurous gentlemen. I am avoiding the word "adventurers" which is unparliamentary. It was given in writing " if you elect me as the Minister I will give you the Deputy Presidentship". These three gentlemen went home and divided it by a document between themselves and thus the State Congress Party got three more members. As I said, I must on this occasion speak without fear of man. And then what happened? The strength of the parties became 19 and 18. There was only one independent practically holding the balance. I became important for one moment. I never cared for the importance. I was prepared to sink into oblivion later on. The State Congress leader did this without consulting the party. Is that the action of a responsible leader of a responsible party, I ask this House? Secondly, what happened? Five hon'ble members who are all hon'ble members got disgruntled with the party leadership and got disgusted with the working of the party. They resigned and walked away. A few formed the Progressive Party which has now disappeared. What then happened? A few more resigned from the Progressive Party. Now those hon'ble members, right hon'ble members who resigned from the State Congress Party now became reconverts. They have become aware of the importance of the former leader, his innocence, his virtue and of his leadership and the merits of the party and joined his party under a name "Unionist Party". That is the party. All honour to them. All glory to them. I ask another question. Are you sure, I ask the leader of the Unionist Party, that you can hold this motley crowd for ten days? That is the most important question. This is not the first no-confidence motion. This is the third. No-confidence motions are coming like changing coats. Have you heard of no-confidence motions coming every day?

Analysing still further, the chief attack against the Cochin Congress Party was that it consisted of the biggest *jenmies* in the Cochin State. Where are they now? Can the Hon'ble Member for Cranganur Muslims agree with the Hon'ble Member Mr. Ittiravi Nambudiri? Can communalists agree with non-communalists?

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Can the wolf lie with the lamb? *(Laughter)* As one hon'ble member said it is a zoo without any barriers between the animals. No reflection. Giving the responsibility of the Minister's office to that party would be like giving a silken fabric to our original ancestors to keep. *(Laughter)* I have not found anything justifiying Dr. A. R. Menon's abrupt dismissal. We all know his limitations. But he is honest and straightforward but a blunt man. If that is a fault, dismiss him straight-a-way. I only ask this question. How long will this ministry pull on? Personally I do not think that Mr. T. K. Nayar will be a bad Minister or an inefficient Minister, But the main ground is that the party may not hold together for ten days. This is not the time for a change. Therefore I am opposing the motion. I would appeal to every hon'ble member of this House who still keeps his independence intact and who does not obey the rein and whip of the so-called parties to see that the *status quo ante* is maintained in the interests of the people of the Cochin State and in the interests of the experiment which we are now conducting and in the interests of India as a whole.

മിസ്റ്റർ പോപ്പട്ടലാൽ ഗോവിന്ദലാലൻ : സർ, ഈ അവിശ്വാസ പ്രമേയത്തെ ഞാൻ എതിർക്കുകയാണു് ചെയ്യുന്നതു്. ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട മന്ത്രിയുടെ പേരിൽ ചില കുറ്റങ്ങളും കുറവുകളും ആരോപിച്ചുകൊണ്ടു് ഒരു അവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയം കൊണ്ടുവന്നതിൽ ഞാൻ വ്യസനിക്കുകയും അതിശയിക്കുകയും ചെയ്യുന്നു. മന്ത്രി നമ്മുടെ രാജ്യത്തു യാതൊരു ഗുണങ്ങളും ചെയ്തിട്ടില്ലെന്നും ഗവർൺമെണ്ടു ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെണ്ടിൽ അദ്ദേഹം അഭിവൃദ്ധികരം യാതൊന്നും ഉണ്ടാക്കിയിട്ടില്ലെന്നും ഉള്ള ഒരു കുറ്റമാണു് പ്രധാനമായിട്ടു ഇവിടെ പറഞ്ഞിട്ടുള്ളതു്. നമ്മുടെ മന്ത്രിയുടെ ഇന്നത്തെ സ്ഥിതി പഞ്ചപാണ്ഡവന്മാർക്കു് ദ്രൌപതിയെന്ന പോലെയാണു്. ചരിത്രത്തിൽ അവരുടെ ഗൃഹസ്ഥാശ്രമ ജീവിതത്തെപ്പറ്റി പറഞ്ഞിട്ടുള്ളതു് വായിച്ചുനോക്കിയാൽ അവർ തമ്മിൽ എത്രത്തോളം വഴക്കുണ്ടായിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നും അവരുടെ പേരിൽ കളങ്കം വരുത്തുവാൻ എത്രത്തോളം സാധിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നും പ്രത്യക്ഷമാകുന്നതാണു്. ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ സ്റ്റോറിലെ സ്ഥിതി നോക്കിയാൽ പഞ്ചപാണ്ഡവന്മാരുടെ സ്ഥിതി അടിസ്ഥാനമാക്കി എടുക്കാമെന്നാണു് എനിക്കുതോന്നുന്നതു്. മിനിസ്റ്റർ എല്ലാവരേയും സന്തോഷിപ്പിക്കണം. എല്ലാവരുടേയും ആവശ്യങ്ങൾ പൂർത്തിയായി നിറവേറ്റി അവരെ സന്തോഷിപ്പിച്ചില്ലെങ്കിൽ അവരൊക്കെ ശത്രുക്കളായി നില്ക്കുന്നതു് ലോകത്തിലെ സാധാരണ പതിവാണു്.ഈ അവിശ്വാസപ്രമേഹം ഇവിടെ അവതരിപ്പിച്ചതിനുപകരം.....

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. ആർ. വിശ്വംഭരൻ : പ്രമേഹമല്ല, പ്രമേയമാണു്. (ചിരി).

മിസ്റ്റർ പോപ്പട്ടലാൽ ഗോവിന്ദലാലൻ : അതൊരു ദീനമാണു്. ആ ദീനം ഇവിടെ പിടിച്ചിരിക്കുകയാണു്. അതു നിങ്ങൾക്കു് മനസ്സിലാകുമെന്നുറച്ചാണു ഞാൻ പറഞ്ഞതു്. നമ്മുടെ കൊച്ചിരാജ്യത്തുള്ള സകല ജനങ്ങളും ഈ കൌൺസിലിലുള്ള സകല മെമ്പർമാരുടെപേക്ഷം അവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയംകൊണ്ടുവരുകയാണു് ആദ്യം വേണ്ടതു്. അതിനു് സ്വാതന്ത്ര്യമില്ലാത്ത സ്ഥിതിക്കു് ഈ മന്ത്രിസ്ഥാനം സ്വീകരിക്കേണ്ട ആവശ്യമുണ്ടായില്ലെന്നാണു് ഞാൻ പറയുന്നതു്.

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ഇപ്പോഴുള്ള നമ്മുടെ കാൺസ്റ്റിറ്റ്യൂഷൻ അനുസരിച്ച് ഈ കൌൺസിലിലെ അംഗങ്ങൾ പല തരത്തിലുള്ള പ്രവൃത്തികളും നടത്തുവാൻ മിനിസ്റ്റരോട് ആവശ്യപ്പെടുകയും അതിവിടെ പാസ്സാക്കുകയും ചെയ്യുന്നുണ്ട്. എന്നാൽ ഗവമ്മെണ്ടു് പണമില്ലെന്നുപറഞ്ഞു് അതുകൾ നടപ്പിൽ വരുത്താതെ ഇരിക്കുകയും ചെയ്യുന്നു, അതിനു് കുറക്കാരൻ മന്ത്രിയാകുന്നതു് എങ്ങിനെയാണു്? ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ മന്ത്രിയെ മാറ്റിക്കഴിഞ്ഞാൽ ഇനി വരുന്ന മന്ത്രിയും അങ്ങിനെ ചെയ്യാതെ നിവൃത്തിയില്ല. പരിപൂർണ്ണമായി ജനങ്ങളുടെ ആവശ്യപ്രകാരം ചെയ്യുവാൻ സാദ്ധ്യമല്ല. അതുകൊണ്ടു് എല്ലാ അനുദ്യോഗസ്ഥമെമ്പർമാരോടും ഞാനപേക്ഷിക്കുന്നതു്, മന്ത്രിസ്ഥാനം നിങ്ങൾ സ്വീകരിക്കുന്നതിനുമുമ്പു് മന്ത്രിക്കു് ഭരണക്രമത്തിൽ പരിപൂർണ്ണസ്വാതന്ത്ര്യം ഉണ്ടായിരിക്കണം; അല്ലെങ്കിൽ ഈ കൌൺസിലിൽ പാസ്സാകുന്നതെല്ലാം പ്രവൃത്തിയിൽ വരുത്തുവാൻവേണ്ട സ്വാതന്ത്ര്യമെങ്കിലും മന്ത്രിക്കുണ്ടായിരിക്കണമെന്നു് വാദിക്കണമെന്നാണു്. അതു് നല്ലണമെന്നാവശ്യപ്പെട്ടപ്രകാരം കിട്ടിയാൽ മേലിൽ ഭരണം നടത്തുവാൻ വരുന്ന മന്ത്രിക്കു് ഞാൻ ആദ്യം പറഞ്ഞതുപോലെയുള്ള ദീനം പിടിപെടാതെ ഭംഗിയായി കാര്യങ്ങൾ നിർവ്വഹിക്കുവാൻ സാധിക്കും. ഈ ദീനം മാറാതിരിക്കുന്നതു് ശരിയല്ല. ഒരു നായ മറ്റൊരു നായയെ കാണുമ്പോൾ കടിപിടികൂടുന്നതുപോലെ ഇവിടത്തെ പാർട്ടികളുതമ്മിൽ മിനിസ്റ്റർ ഉദ്യോഗത്തിനുവേണ്ടി ബഹളം കൂട്ടുന്നതു് ശരിയല്ല. ഞങ്ങളുടെ ഭാഷയിൽ ഇതിനെപ്പറ്റി ചില പൊല്ലികൾ ഉണ്ടു്. അവയെ അടിസ്ഥാനമാക്കിയാണു് പറയുന്നതു്. കൊച്ചിയിൽ ഒരു മിനിസ്റ്റർ സ്ഥാനമാകുന്ന റൊട്ടിക്കഷണം വലിച്ചെറിഞ്ഞുകൊടുത്തതുകൊണ്ടു്, ഇവിടത്തെ ജനങ്ങൾ നായ്ക്കളെപോലെ ആ റൊട്ടിക്കഷണത്തിനുവേണ്ടി കടിച്ചുമരിക്കുന്നു എന്നു് ഈ രാജ്യത്തു് മാത്രമല്ല ഇൻഡ്യയിൽ മറ്റു രാജ്യങ്ങളും മനസ്സിലാക്കുവാൻ ഇടയാകുന്നതു് എത്ര വ്യസനകരവും ലജ്ജാവഹവുമായിരിക്കും. വലുതായ കുറങ്ങൾ ചെയ്തിട്ടുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ, അതായതു് വല്ല കൈക്കൂലിയൊ മറ്റൊ വാങ്ങിക്കുകയാണെങ്കിൽ അങ്ങിനെയുള്ള മന്ത്രിയെ തൽസ്ഥാനത്തുനിന്നുതന്നെയല്ല, ഈ രാജ്യത്തുനിന്നുതന്നെ നീക്കം ചെയ്യേണ്ടതാണു്. അങ്ങിനെയുള്ള യാതൊരു കുറവും നമ്മുടെ മന്ത്രിയിലില്ല. സൈക്ലോൺ റിലീഫിനും ശരിയായ ജോലി അദ്ദേഹം ചെയ്തിട്ടില്ലെന്നാണു് ഇവിടെ പറയുന്നതു്. മഹാരാജാവ തിരുമനസ്സിൽനിന്നും സൈക്ലോൺ റിലീഫ് വക്കിനു് ദിവാൻപേഷ്കാർ അവർകളെയാണു് നിയമിച്ചു് ആർഡർ അയച്ചതു്. ആ അവസരത്തിൽ ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട മെമ്പർ എവിടെ ഉറങ്ങിക്കിടന്നിരുന്നു. അന്നു് ഈ മെമ്പർക്കു് ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിനോടു് പറയാമായിരുന്നു ഈ വക്കു് ഞങ്ങളുടെ മിനിസ്റ്റർക്കാണു് കൊടുക്കേണ്ടതു്, അല്ലാതെ ദിവാൻപേഷ്കാർക്കല്ല എന്നു്. രാജ്യക്ഷേമത്തിനുവേണ്ടി ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിൽനിന്നും വേണ്ടതുചെയ്കഴിഞ്ഞിട്ടും കുറക്കാരൻ മന്ത്രിതന്നെ. ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട മന്ത്രി യാതൊരു കുറവും അതിൽ ചെയ്തിട്ടില്ല. ഞാൻ ആദ്യം പറഞ്ഞതുപോലെ ഒരു കണ്ണിനു് മറ്റെ കണ്ണിനെ കാണായ്കകൊണ്ടൊ വൈരാഗ്യംകൊണ്ടൊ അല്ലെങ്കിൽ ഒരാൾക്കു് ജോലികൊടുക്കുവാൻ പറഞ്ഞിട്ടു് അതു കൊടുക്കാതിരുന്നതുകൊണ്ടൊ ആണോ ഈ അവിശ്വാസപ്രമേയം ഇവിടെകൊണ്ടുവന്നിരിക്കുന്നതു്? ഇതൊട്ടും ശരിയല്ലെന്നാണു് എനിക്കു് ഈ അവസരത്തിൽ ഇവിടെ പറയുവാനുള്ളതു്.

പിന്നെ അദ്ദേഹത്തെക്കുറിച്ചു് ചില പേർസനലായ കാര്യങ്ങൾ പറയുവാൻ എളപ്പമുണ്ടു്. അതായതു് ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട മന്ത്രിക്കു അല്പം ചില ഗ്രൂണിസ്വഭാവമുണ്ടു്. ഏതു നല്ലകാര്യം പറഞ്ഞാലും ചിലപ്പോൾ അദ്ദേഹത്തിനുള്ള ഗ്രൂണികൊണ്ടു് അദ്ദേഹം അതിനെ എതിർക്കും. എന്നാൽ പിന്നീടു് തന്നെത്താൻ പശ്ചാത്തപിച്ചുകൊണ്ടു് അദ്ദേഹം അതു് നടത്തുകയും ചെയ്യും. ഈവക ചില കാരണങ്ങ

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ളാൽ ഈ തരം പ്രമേയംകൊണ്ടുവരുന്നതു് ശരിയല്ല. മന്ത്രിയെക്കുറിച്ചു് കായ്മായ കുറങ്ങും ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട അവതാരകൻ ഇവിടെകൊണ്ടുവന്നിരുന്നെങ്കിൽ ഞങ്ങളും അദ്ദേഹത്തോടു് യോജിച്ചു് വേറെ ഒരു മന്ത്രിയെ വെക്കുവാൻ ഉത്സാഹിക്കുമായിരുന്നു. ഈ പ്രമേയത്തെപ്പറ്റി ഒരു പ്രൈവറ്റ് എൻകയറി നടത്തുകയാണെങ്കിൽ എന്താണു് ഇതിന്റെ അടിയിൽ കിടക്കുന്നതെന്നു് മനസ്സിലാകും. നമ്മുടെ രാജ്യത്തിനു് ചീത്തപ്പേരുവരുത്തുന്നതിന്നിടയുള്ള ഈ പ്രമേയം ഇവിടെ അവതരിപ്പിക്കുന്നതു് ശരിയല്ലെന്നുപറഞ്ഞുകൊണ്ടു് ഞാൻ ഇതിനെ എതിർക്കുന്നു.

Mr. K. Kochukunhan Kaimal *(Vadakkancheri):* Sir, I fully agree with the appellation that has been given by my previous speaker to the motion that is now placed before this House, that is, no confidence in the malady which my friends on the other side wanted to correct by saying that it is "പ്രമേഹം". That really shows their want of confidence or belief in the real existence of the so-called malady that is now sought to be placed before the House. So, I say Mr. Popatlal has very correctly characterised this resolution as one having no confidence in the so-called malady. This observation has been evidently manifested by the utter hollowness of want of any point in the motion of the mover.

Now, let us go further regarding the motion itself. I was one with all the members when the Constitution Act was inaugurated in the Budget Session that this is a gift to the Cochin State and that the people of the Cochin State have advanced so far as to deserve such a constitutional progress in the administration of the State and that the Government congratulated for having taken this bold step of allowing the elected representative of the people in carrying on the administration of certain departments which more or less come in direct contact with the people, that is the progress and development of certain departments in which the people are directly interested. All our friends here congratulated and said and even made a pledge that they would certainly appreciate the spirit in which it was given and that they will deserve the confidence which has been reposed in the representatives of the people by the beloved Maharaja. Having made such a promise and a solemn pledge I thought that they would certainly justify the confidence reposed in them and also they will justify the pledge that was made to this House by every one of the representatives or the members of this House. Now, soon after that, we find a total change. After one year we find that the position that has already been taken up by the members was abused and the privilege that was given to them was begun to be abused by clamouring for communal benefits and for personal or other interests. In that way, the personal interests or the communal interests or the other vested interests of the different classes, and the interests of the people began to come into conflict

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with each other and a beginning was shown that the members of this House were not fully advanced to really appreciate the spirit in which the constitution was given and also to work it harmoniously and bring it to a level which will certainly be an emulation to the other States of India. It was regretable to note that the members were lacking in a spirit of adjustment or a sort of compromise when such interests come into conflict with each other. That displayed the lack of knowledge or political consciousness of the representatives of this House, to understand the real spirit of the constitution and to work in a spirit which will give satisfaction to the people whom they have the honour to represent in this House. Following this we find two no-confidence motions already tabled which only show that they were lacking in that spirit to which I adverted. Now, what is the fate of all those no-confidence motions? Of course, everyone knows. Of course, we have worked the constitution for over about 4 years and the experience that we have gained in this House during the last 4 years is, instead of showing our progress and our aptitude to work the constitution or our ability to work the constitution, it is only displayed to the disgrace of the representatives of this House and to the world outside that they are lacking in the spirit of reconciliation and also in the spirit of working a democratic constituion. It only shows the utter lack of political consciousness of these people. What we find is rank communalism and revolutionary spirit and also crying for the loaves and fishes of office, probably forgetting the interests they are representing. It is in that way that we had the experience in the working of this constitution.

Now, let us examine in the spirit and expectations whether the present motion before the House contains any concrete fact or point which will justify a motion of an extraordinary character like this and whether it will be sufficient to remove the Minister from the position. I am sorry to find that such a hopeless case has been placed before this House without any concrete point in it and the speech of the mover simply contained certain general observations and probably certain general platitudes which are very common to those who have absolutely not got any point in the matter which they represent. Now, one of the only two points that were raised by the mover is the unsatisfactory manner of working certain model Panchayats. So far as my knowledge goes, the Minister has from the very beginning wanted to say that the department entrusted to his care should be developed and should be used to the extent the people for whom it was intended and the people who wanted to do it did not ask in the spirit in which it was given. The Minister is not at fault, it is only the people to whom it was intended who are at fault. Now, so far as the Panchayat Department is concerned, we have been

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hearing ever so many questions being put in this House regarding the nominations, and there has not been a single case before this House during these long 3 years which really showed want of confidence regarding the policy of nomination followed by the Minister. Of course, I do not want to enter into such details.

The other point is that the Minister did not come forward with an anxious desire to give relief to the people of Cochin who have suffered on account of the cyclone. What does it mean? And the very same mover has already shown his discontentment so far as this procedure is concerned by putting certain questions in the previous session. I wonder why my learned friend was very much dissatisfied with the manner in which it was adopted for giving relief. But Government have come forward to give relief to the people. Where it came from or the channel through which it came is a matter which does not concern any of us. I thought he would have had some point against the measure adopted in the cyclone relief. Not a word of dissatisfaction has been expressed by him and I am sure he will not be able to find a single point regarding the working of the cyclone relief measures. Every member of this House has more than once appreciated the kindness shown by the Government and the way in which that extraordinary measure was worked by the officer, the Diwan Peishkar, who was entrusted with it. It is a very difficult task which requires the co-operation of many departments and probably it is not possible even by the Diwan Peishkar who has got a large number of people ready to work who are able to work in the villages themselves. It is that nature of the work that necessitated the particular way in which the work should be done through the Revenue Department. Whatever be the channel it is immaterial. If my learned friend was anxious that some great relief should have been done to the people, he should not have complained about the channel which was adopted for this. So that, so far as that matter is concerned, he has not made out any case.

With these remarks I only wish to sound a discordant note and a note of warning that the experience that we have shown in this manner and the constant no-confidence motions that have been tabled before this House will only, as I said before, proclaim to convince the authorities concerned and also the outside world that our representatives of the people who were said to be so clever in administering the democratic institution are lacking in efficiency and also in political consciousness which is required. Probably the other interests predominate over these feelings. This will only give a handle to the authorities concerned who were watching how the reform was being worked and if the authorities have not reason to

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believe that you do not deserve the confidence which is reposed in you and also you don't have the attitude or the capacity to work it in a harmonious spirit which will be of immense use to the people. That will only give conviction to the authorities concerned that we are unfit to work the reform that has been granted. That will certainly be the one blow to this sort of no-confidence motions before this House, and I am afraid that the authorities may even say that you are unfit to work the constitution, you do not deserve the reform that has already been granted, let the whole thing be scrapped. That is the discordant note that I wish to place before this House and I am sorry that that will be a day of sorrow not only for the members of this House but also for the whole people. I am sure that the members will certainly realise their responsibility and come to a decision in a manner which will give satisfaction to the people of the State. I, therefore, strongly object to the motion.

Mr. Shabdai S. Koder *(Nominated):* Mr. President, Sir, before I rise to speak on the motion, I wish to express my grateful thanks to you, Sir, and through you to His Highness' Government for having respected our religious sentiments, in spite of the attempts of the Hon'ble Mover, by postponing the discussion to Monday instead of Saturday, our Sabbath day.

This is the third no-confidence motion tabled against the Minister. In the first motion, the reasons advanced were firstly that the Minister was not scheming any schemes, secondly that the Minister did not nominate the friends of some of the hon'ble members of this House. These charges were baseless and the no-confidence motion was negatived. I was listening very patiently to the speech of the hon'ble mover of this motion, and as usual he was not capable of raising any issues. The only thing that I see behind this motion is a very selfish motive. Every one wants to become the Minister and if we are unable to overcome this feeling, I am afraid, Sir, whoever becomes the Minister, no-confidence motions will in future be the order of the day and we, the members of the Cochin Legislative Council, will become a laughing-stock to politicians outside Cochin. In my opinion, to pass a no-confidence motion against a responsible Minister, the charges must be grave; and in these abnormal times when we should all be united and sink our petty party differences, the charges must be graver still. As I have already referred there was no point in the speech of the hon'ble mover, except the reference to the cyclone relief which I completely ignore, and the fact that the hon'ble members who are supporting this motion are completely silent, no one can but doubt what the real motive is. I therefore cannot support this motior.

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Mr. N. Govinda Pai *(Nominated):* Mr. President, Sir, I have been watching the House and following the objections raised against the ministry by the mover of the motion and the speeches that answered them. I think the objections have been sufficiently answered, and I do not want to enter into any of them. But I want to touch only one point which has not been clarified. That is, it has been said that the hands of the ministry should not have been tied in doing anything useful to the country on the plea that he has no finance. It has also been said that the previous Diwan gave him a free hand and promised to give him any amount of money that he liked to spend for rural development. It has also been said that the Minister himself vouchsafed that finance had not been one of his difficulties for rural development. On the face of it, these expressions are very beautiful but misleading. We can all understand that these expressions have got some real limitations. Suppose we take the family budget of a man who has got a few thousands of rupees of income every month, and suppose he entrusts to one of the junior members of the family to look after one of the departments of the family. Suppose he is entrusted with gardening and the head of the family says that he can have any amount of money he likes to improve gardening and supplying the needs of the family. I think there is a sense of proportion that is always reasonably understood by which this "any amount" is given expression to. Suppose the family has got only an income of 4 or 5 thousand rupees every month and the member who is entrusted with this gardening portfolio asks for about Rs. 4,000 or Rs. 3,000 monthly for improving this garden. I do not think he will be able to justify himself. If he is reasonable he would not ask for such a big amount which is disproportionate with the family income for the development of the department that is entrusted to him, and I do not think that the head of the family would pay him the amount. The family has got certain other obligations, perhaps more important, education, irrigation, or some other very important things as for the matter of that medicine and such other things. Although he has got full permission from the family head that he can spend any amount of money for the gardening which is entrusted to him, he cannot claim an amount which is out of proportion to the family income and incompatible with the importance of his portfolio. This is a thing well understood by every member of this House, and I do not pretend that I am making the matter clearer to this House. But I am making this speech now, just because, although it is well understood on the face of it, it is made use of to attack the Minister by saying that he can claim any amount of money he likes and it is only his mistake that he did not claim from the

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Government such a disproportionate sum for expending in his department. It has also been said that for the last few years, our State budget has always been a surplus one. The expenditure was less and we had always a surplus budget. But we should not forget that we are living through very trying times. It is over 2½ years since the war has begun. But happily one or two unexpected items of income have came to our aid and we have been able to balance our budget. Government has always taken care to see that a certain surplus is reserved for contingencies which may come unexpectedly and for emergencies they may have to face. The complaint is that even after having surpluses the Minister does not take advantage of the funds. The real difficulty arises because the responsibility we have got is only partial. The non-official party in the Council is only to look after what the Minister does. We concentrate our criticism mainly on the Minister. Suppose the Minister claims a disproportionately big part of the income of the Government and we on this side of the House are prepared to vote all that he asks for, how will the Government go on? The next step that the Government will be forced to take if we stick to our resolution is they will either abrogate the present constitution or entrust the whole money to the House and with it full responsibility. Then the difficulty will be felt in levelling this attack, and the House will be forced to see that the amount claimed by one Minister for carrying on his department is quite proportionate to the revenue of the State. So I say that this argumefit is quite baseless. With these words I oppose the motion.

Mr. V. K. Bhaskara Menon *(Cranganur):* I am extremely fortunate that I did not hear the mover of the resolution and his reasons for moving the vote of no-confidence. Now, as I understand it, the mover of the motion has tabled it for the acceptance of the House based on the reason that he has got a majority which might unseat the Minister. In my opinion, we are working a constitution which has been discredited in British India, and the way in which we are working it now, attacking a Minister, for whom I hold no brief whatsoever and from whom I had been differing for the last 4 years, and with whom I hope to differ so long as this Council continues, for no valid reason, will make it more discreditable.

Now, Sir, may I ask this House the reason why this vote of no-confidence against the Minister has been tabled now? Here we have been having a ministerial party with all its continuous traditions which because of the defection of a few members within the last fifteen days for very valid reasons I am prepared to concede, has now become a minority party. This batch of persons who have left the party cannot have any reason whatsoever to say that they have not

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been accepting the policy of the Minister. The only thing that they can say is that they want to do away with the Minister, without a new policy. My submission is that in such matters as a vote of no-confidence, it is the duty of the House and every member of it first to see whether there is a sufficiently valid issue before they exercise their votes. It would have been quite proper had the whole set of persons who are now attacking the Minister been holding the same views for the last 1½ years, because, then the accretion of one member would have given it the majority strength to unseat the Minister upon a matter of policy. Unfortunately, Sir, this seems to be a policy of grab and I am sorry if I am using unparliamentary language. There does not seem to be any reason whatsoever why there should be this vote of no-confidence. Sir, exceedingly thorough, for me there is great difficulty in either supporting or opposing the motion. I have been differing fundamentally with the principles of the Minister for the last four years. But then my fundamental difference has not affected his actions or affected my action so that we are going on as a very happy family. When I came to the Council I was under the impression that a new party is formed to work the constitution with a definite policy and when I asked my friends of the new party what exactly their policy was it was rather funny to find that the policy seemed to be something which was not clear to them. To me it is very difficult to support such a movement. At the same time it should not be regarded that I am for a moment for supporting the Minister on account of my love for his policy. From the day I became a member of this Council I have been clamouring that there should be a policy for the Minister and every time I was dubbed as a man with bloated brains and swollen head and many adjectives as regards my physiognomy were used. I fully appreciate the language used but all the same I think that for any Minister who wants to work any constitution there should be a policy and the policy that the Minister has been adopting has been something experimental, sporadic or equally discontinuous.

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development):* It is because he has no precedent to follow.

Mr. V. K. Bhaskara Menon *(Cranganur):* I am not attacking the Minister nor do I want a justification. I am merely stating what my mental condition was like. I was under the impression—it might be a wrong impression—that coming into the portals of this Council there is a duty on my part to see that something is done for the State on certain logical lines. I must have been a fool, to imagine that. After all, politics do not seem to do any good for the people of the country, it is only for the benefit of the select few

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who happen to go to the Council. Therefore, I say, it is not a case where I am supporting the Minister. But all the same I must appeal to the members to think whether it is not vital and urgently necessary that there should be a proper issue before we unseat the Minister. In my opinion no such issue has been raised or could be raised by the Hon'ble Mover with whom I have been on very intimate terms for the last four years and having discussed the matter with him I have come to the conclusion that it is the might of the party that counts, not anything else. I too believe that might is really an important thing. But whether might can be invoked for supporting a motion on the lines of that now before the House is the question. I submit to this House that it is highly improper and it would make us look exceedingly small in the eyes of the public. I am prepared to admit that even now we have looked fairly small for the last four years. But the acceptance of this particular motion would bring us to the lowest water-mark possible of political degradation.

*__Dr. A. R. Menon__ *(Minister for Rural Development):* Sir, I have been the custodian of this Department as the Minister of the State for the last four years during which period I have had occasion to face the adverse criticisms of this House on some occasions and also the favourable comments. I want the House to realise that to defend oneself in a censure motion is just like asking the condemned man who stands on the gallows to deliver a speech. Therefore, if in the course of these remarks any expression or any word is considered to be out of place, you must remember that the minds may not be working in a very proper form.

You all remember that within the last 4 months, to be precise in the Council one prior to the other, when my friend sitting next to me had the honour of being the acting Diwan of the State presiding over here, the leader of the opposition Mr. T. K. Nayar said more or less in these words—that we are prepared to put up any fight for furthering the interests of the people and we pledge our word openly in this Council that you shall find support, co-operation and help from us. At the same time the leader of the Progressive Party, Mr. Devassy said—of course I take it with that limitation with which you ought to take it—he said that there is no one in this State to lead us. We have a right to demand of you to lead us and you have a right to expect complete co-operation and help for any vigorous action you take for sustaining the prestige, the influence of this institution and in a way to improve the general progress of the country. This event took place only four months ago. I am asking in all earnestness, in all seriousness, what has happened, gentlemen,

* Speech not corrected by the hon'ble member.

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within these four months that should change your regard or affection and your sense of loyalty into hatred, contempt and a sense of aversion to a Minister who has not failed to discharge his duties properly. Are you not bound to give an explanation as to what took place during this period of four months that should change the most vehement and loyal supporters into violent antagonists with a spirit of antagonism which compelled you to bring in a motion of no-confidence in one of whom you were pleased to speak so well within the last four months ?

Mr. M. K. Devassy *(Adur):* I wish to give a personal explanation, Sir. The point then raised by Mr. Salem was that the Minister is not allowed to exercise all the powers given to him under the constitution by virtue of what he called a Blue Book or secret rules. Then I said that when a constitution has been enacted and a Minister has heen empowered to act under that constitution, if there is any rule secret or otherwise which does not permit the Minister to exercise the powers given to him under the constitution, and the Minister informs this House of his difficulties in exercising the powers granted by the constitution, it will be the solemn duty of this House to stand by the Minister whoever the person be, whatever the policy of his administration be, to see that the constitution is acted upon and the Minister wields his powers unhampered by any rule. I gave that assurance and I hold that assurance even now. It is not a question of approving the policy of the Minister. It is a question of seeing that the Minister, irrespective of the person, gets unhampered power to exercise his rights under the constitution. It is an entirely different matter.

Dr. A R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development):* You said: "You are the only man to lead us and we have a right to demand from you to lead us." That was the expression that you used.

Mr. M. K. Devassy *(Adur):* I maintain that you have failed to lead us.

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development):* Therefore, within these four months a new feeling has arisen in his mind, and he found out the person whom he expected to be strong enough to lead has become so helpless, powerless, may be through old age. Why I am saying it is this. I did not take it then in the literal sense of that sentence. What I wanted to convey to the House is that this reversion of feeling is not due to any action I have done within these four months but due to other various extraneous causes. Gentlemen, it has been my misfortune as it is the misfortune of all of you occasionally by a misunderstanding or by a different interpretation of some action to create a kind of disunity or disharmony, and people who do

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not take immediate action to settle such disharmony may find themselves in great difficulties later on. That is the only history of the cessation of the party. There has never been any bitter complaint between them and me and among them at least there is one with whom I sat hand in hand facing the angel of death for two days without any fear of the consequences that may follow to me. Do you mean to tell me that a man of that kind would raise his hand against me unless temporarily his balance of mind is upset by some emotions or under dire compulsion from something else?

Mr. E. Ikkanda Warriar *(Cheruthuruthi):* I wish to say that the Hon'ble Minister has receded since. I may assure this House that in spite of our best efforts we were not able to improve the condition.

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development):* I am unable to rise to the height of the greatness of my friend. I confess my mental equipment, my capacity, my knowledge, and other virtues which my friend possessed in such abundance are not possessed by me. And, therefore, it is uncharitable for him to expect me to rise to the great height that he rises. He must have a realisation of my humble limitations and considering his generosity of nature he should have made atonement, he should have found some compensation for those great defects with which I have been blessed by Providence.

Now, Sir, I was saying that I am asking again when people who were so friendly, who have lived through 22 or 25 years, fighting the political warfare, sharing the bitterness of adversity and equally sharing the enjoyments of success, men who are not even considered as two bodies or at least two bodies with one soul in the State, people who do not even separate us one from the other, is it possible that any small thing will alienate the sympathy of such a person and make him raise his hand against me?

Mr. E. Ikkanda Warriar *(Cheruthuruthi):* If public interest requires I will do it.

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development):* I am not referring to you at all. Why are you so very anxious to interrupt me?

Now, Sir, this House must know when such friends should part company there must be very very grave reasons. What are the grave reasons? Public interest. There is only one man in this State who sacrifices everything for the sake of public interest and that man sits here, my hon'ble friend.

Mr. E. Ikkanda Warriar *(Cheruthuruthi):* Thank you for the compliment.

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Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development):* I have known him for the last 22 years and I hold in this House that I am as public spirited, I have done as much public work as he has done; he has helped me on many an occasion and I have helped him too. All this time we found that there is some identity of interests, there is some uniformity of temperament, there is also some common purpose for both of us to achieve.

Sir, what are the causes for bringing a no-confidence motion? To my mind there are three or four causes which should make your best friend forget the past relations and the tender cord with which we were bound together by various acts of generosity, kindness and those higher feelings which elevate human nature over the other animals; for I hold that the essence of human nature is nothing but generosity and kindness and it is because of these high qualities that we retain the position as the lord of creation in this universe. What are the causes? The Minister must be a corrupt man. Even his own father or his son must disagree with him and must do everything possible to get rid of that man. Are you prepared to suggest, to think, to imgaine a single case of corruption?

Mr. M. K. Devassy *(Adur):* There is absolutely no such case.

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development):* I am asking you, Sir, this question. Here always, even where there is no corruption, there may be rumours of corruption and putting two and two together people say there must be something. Have you ever heard of such a thing even? I am pausing for an answer. That is the first thing. Then what is the second one? That he must conscientiously discharge his duties to the best of his ability. I may assure this House that I have been sometimes working 14 hours and 15 hours. I have been travelling hours together for various purposes and the pettiest complaint preferred to me by the humblest citizen of His Highness the Maharaja received my attention and made me travel sometimes 60 miles for local inspection and redress the grievances. That is the second one.

What is the third one? The third one is the hopeless incompetency and inefficiency. It is not for me to say about my efficiency or capacity. But the House has been on the whole generous in not bringing forward that charge though they might have felt it in their heart of hearts that an abler man must be put in this place. You must also realise that my profession is a handicap to me because that profession never allows tampering with any other profession and the general knowledge that is necessary to understand human nature, that philosophy of life, the philosophical speculations that go to

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ennoble our character and our mind are, generally speaking, denied to the profession which I follow. That is the third charge.

What is the fourth charge? Absolute indifference to maintain the prestige, the dignity and the authority of this Council whose servant I happen to be. I consider, Sir, that the first duty of the Minister of this State is to sustain the authority and the prestige of this Council against all odds and in spite of any opposition from any quarters whatsoever to maintain that events have taken place within your memory that I have endeavoured, consistent with various considerations, to sustain and maintain your authority, the authority of this Council. Have I proved myself to be absolutely indifferent; have I done anything to undermine your prestige or your dignity? If I have done it, I say even my own father or son must record a vote against me. These, I think, are the four causes that would come under this category when friendship shall not count, when past associations shall not count, when nothing in this world will count against the sense of discharging ones own duties. All these things have not taken place. Sir, a series of charges or what are purported to be charges were brought forward by the mover of this motion. One is about the cyclone relief. The most efficient officer with one of the most efficient departments of the State was entrusted with this work by the Government. I have volunteered, and, as the Diwan Peishkar will assure the House, offered him every help and every co-operation in the discharge of his duties in the fullest manner, and I am glad to say that the Diwan Peishkar was good enough to accept my offer, and my department has rendered whatever help that is necessary for him. It is not my nature to go about writing letters, seeking interviews in order to make myself self-important or to go and meddle with things when I was not asked to do it, especially when that work was done by a more efficient hand than I happen to be myself. Was there any complaint about the cyclone relief? That is the test. It is not the question as to who discharged the duties. Have you had any bitter complaint of the disbursement of the amount or of the relief work undertaken so ably by my hon'ble friend who is sitting next to me?

If it is not, the Government were wise in selecting the best man suitable for this, and all the rest of us have only to co-operate with him and help him. I have myself rendered that help as the Diwan Peishkar will testify. The implication of the point is this, "since it is in rural areas you are not invited to take it and it is a kind of slight on you." Nothing of the kind. There has been another occasion in giving flood relief and then Diwan Sir Shanmukham requested me to take this matter in company with the Diwan Peishkar. I readily

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consented and for one continuous month I travelled over the places and discharged all the duties within 10 days which under normal circumstances might take two months. Therefore there was no disinclination to work, there was no idea of non-co-operation with the reserved half but to render all necessary help to them.

Mr. M. K. Devassy *(Adur):* The case is that you have failed to realise that this is a subject-matter which you ought to have claimed as your portfolio.

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development):* This is a matter which is within the discretion of the Cochin Government to decide who should see to it.

Mr. M. K. Devassy *(Adur):* I say, it was your duty to demand it as your portfolio.

Mr. C. V. Iyyu *(Kunnamkulam):* We say, it is your duty to demand it in order to enhance the prestige of the Minister.

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development):* Destruction has taken place in the town also. For example, in the town of Trichur. I have no authority over those towns. Therefore, you cannot divide villages and towns into water-tight compartments nor, strictly speaking, transferred and reserved departments which overlap each other and hold together in an amicable co-operative spirit to carry on the administration more efficiently.

Mr. A. B. Salem *(Mattancheri):* Sir, may I ask you a question? Is not the Diwan Peishkar also working under the Minister?

Mr. C. V. Iyyu *(Kunnamkulam):* Only as far as the Fisheries are concerned.

Mr. A. B. Salem *(Mattancheri):* I am putting the question because Government forms the Minister and the Diwan, according to the Government of Cochin Act, who function in conjunction with the Ruler. Therefore, is not the Diwan Peishkar as much an Officer of the Ministry as of the Government?

Mr. K. R. Viswambharan *(Ezhuvas-Talappalli):* Was the Diwan Peishkar working under the direction of the Minister in regard to this matter?

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development):* Sir, Government have a control over the heads of departments and over other officers of Government. It is not a question of the Diwan or the Minister, but it is the Government of Cochin that orders. Sometimes, public do not know who signs a particular document. Whether it is signed by the Diwan or by the Minister, it goes as

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the orders of the Government of Cochin. There is only one thing, the Government of Cochin. No Diwan or Minister to issue orders.

Mr. C. V. Iyyu *(Kunnamkulam):* Then what is the meaning of "by order of the Ministry for Rural Development" ?

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development):* It is not "by the order of the Minister", but "of the Ministry of Rural Development".

Mr. C. V. Iyyu *(Kunnamkulam):* But in the orders issued from the reserved half, we do not find it ?

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development):* There also you will find it.

Mr. C. V. Iyyu *(Kunnamkulam):* No, there we see only "by order of the Government of Cochin."

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development):* I will endeavour to teach you the difference, this afternoon *(Laughter)*, if you could not see the difference.

Now, Sir, the other complaint was that the villages have not only been improved, but even destroyed unfortunately by the persons there. Smiling villages have been destroyed by the appointment of most unpleasant and usless men ! Is that so ? Are not the villages working more vigorously ? Are not the village institutions working vigorously ? Are not the complaints looked into within the limited time ? Are not people allowed to come in contact with the Minister and make personal representations to him so that he may rectify those mistakes ? Are not other institutions started in this State, such as rural libraries, and midwives all over the place and various other amenities of life within the provision of the budget ?

It is stated, and Mr. Govinda Pai has answered to some extent, that moneys were forthcoming, and here is an incompetent man who does not know how to spend them. Is there any man in this world who does not know how to spend the money ? No, Sir. The difficulty is to get it. Everybody is capable of spending. Now what is this charge ? I said in this House before that the Government had been very generous and the Diwan placed ample funds at my disposal for these departments. Yes, I said so. It does not mean that for all the various schemes funds are forthcoming. It is my duty to see the difficulties of the reserved half, as Mr. Govinda Pai said. It is my duty to see the total income of the State and find out the absolute necessary expenditure for the various departments and then only can I make an application for additional grant under my departments. It is only on this basis that I could make applications for additional funds. That is what I meant when I made that

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statement. In fact, the reserved half had been very good and generous both during Sir Shanmukham Chetty's time and during the present regime. Therefore, there should not be any misapprehension that money was forthcoming in plenty and here is an unwilling person to spend the money in a proper form.

Sir, I think these are the only two charges levelled against me—I mean substantial charges, as they were termed. Then he said something about the model panchayats. The model panchayats were started as an experimental measure and I have said at the very beginning that we will take two or three villages at one time and watch the progress of these institutions, and if it is proved that these institutions are progressive and are useful, then we may adopt them in all the other panchayats. I have confessed to this House openly without reservation that I was not an expert in rural reconstruction, nor is it expected of a Minister to be an expert of the various departments entrusted to his care. Do you expect a Minister to be a specialist in veterinary surgery, in agriculture, in labour, in industry, in commerce, in rural re-construction? These are the various branches that come under me. Then there is the fisheries. Is it possible for any one to understand thoroughly these various departments in detail? If there are men like that, certainly I do not belong to that category of supermen. Therefore, there is no need to say anything against me on that score. In so far as I am concerned, I never took a step without consulting the expert who was appointed by the Government for rural re-construction. Every step was taken in accordance with his instructions, under his directions, and in no case shall I oppose any of his suggestions. Therefore, if it has not succeeded, if it has been a failure, that failure cannot be attributed to me; it is no part of my work to study the problems in detail and become an expert so that I may cure the diseases myself, because Government have appointed men with due qualifications to advise the Minister and the Minister is expected to be guided by their advice. That is what I have done. What is the charge? What more can you expect from me than to be guided by the advice of the experts appointed by the Government? In every ministry it is the same principle that is followed. Have not you heard of sometimes the First Lord of Admirality being transferred as the Chancellor of Exchequer, or the Finance Minister or the Supply Minister in the British Cabinet? Do you mean to tell that all these Ministers are fully conversant with the various aspects of questions coming under their control? Therefore the charge that the Minister by his carelessness, by his incompetency, by his indifference, by his want of knowledge have spoilt the rural re-construction scheme is not based upon facts.

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These are the two grave charges brought against me by the House, and I have endeavoured to answer both these charges to the satisfaction of this House.

Now, I want to say one or two words about the party-system that we have got here. What I want to say is this. When persons become members of a party they are compelled to go by the majority vote even though they may disagree. I have experienced myself that difficulty. However much the sense of equity and fairness drag us on the one side, the party loyalty drag us to the other. Therefore it will be a folly, and it will be futile on my part to appeal to the members who belong to the parties to consider this question, to understand this explanation, to appreciate the difficulties of the Minister and record the vote accordingly. As a matter of fact, some of the members themselves came and expressed their regret that while they thought that this motion should not have been brought forward they were unable to resist the mandate of the party and therefore compelled to vote for it. Three of them confessed this position to me. I am not appealing to them because that appeal might inevitably fall on deaf ears. But I am appealing to the members who do not belong to any party, members who sit as independent members, that if they are satisfied after listening to this explanation that no charges of omission or commission have been committed by me, then it is their duty to use their discretion and sense of fairness and record the vote accordingly. Especially to you, Sir, professor of political economy and political science, my appeal is, if you are satisfied with my reasons, then get up and record your vote in the way justice and equity demand.

Mr. K. R. Viswambharan *(Ezhuvas-Talappalli):* Why openly? You can do it privately.

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development):* Why privately, I do nothing in private.

Mr. K. R. Viswambharan *(Ezhuvas-Talappalli):* Why do you smuggle persons from our side?

Mr. E. Ikkanda Warriar *(Cheruthuruthi):* Not do that so nakedly.

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development):* Therefore, Sir, if you think that I have not done anything which should receive this censure, then I submit it is your duty to vote in my favour. This speech is not intended to influence the members of this House. This is the third time that I have to get up and answer these questions. And in answering these attacks my only justification to the people outside the State is: we are working a new

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institution, we have not got sufficient knowledge and sufficient experience in working it properly and therefore they must condone these occasional votes of censure moved in this House and should view them with equanimity of temper and with a spirit of tolerance. This speech is intended for the whole State, for the people of Cochin whose representatives you are and whose servant I am in the ultimate analysis. They constitute my masters and they must know how their representatives have treated me in this House, how they have been bringing forward motions of this kind against the Minister without adequate reason, without adequate cause, so that they may understand at least that the fault does not rest entirely with me, but to some extent with those who accuse me of all these charges. That is the only purpose, Sir, in delivering this long speech and taking away your precious time, so that people of the State might know it and understand it and such instances may not take place very often in the future. I can only hope as a result of this censure motion if these parties which have coalesced together will stitch together and constitute a strong party to conduct the affairs of this State, even my sacrifice has been compensated to a very great extent indeed by the fact that a real party based upon sound principles has been formed, a realisation of a hope which is absolutely essential for the future proper working of this institution. This House must realise that the Minister is between the devil and the deep sea. He has to please many masters. He has to justify his action to the Diwan. He has to please His Highness the Maharaja under whom he serves. He has to please this House. He has to please individual members and what is more, he has to please members of his own party. The members of this House do not realise that the Minister in his executive capacity does not belong to any party and should not be influenced by party considerations or personal predelictions. He should only be actuated by one motive, equity, fairness and justice. Practically the minister occupies the same place as the Diwan with regard to the questions which are decided on the merits, on grounds of equity and justice and not on any ground of personal representation. Therefore, Sir, when personal representations are made and when it could not be realised, I submit to this House, that the wounded feeling which has been exhibited in the past should not be operative in your decision. However, if you do that, the Minister may be compelled to descend from that high level which he should occupy, in order to please the individuals. It is really a retrograde step, a step which should be viewed with great disfavour by this House. I have, Sir, endeavoured during these 4 years to hold the balance equally, to treat communities fairly and in so far as I am concerned to see that justice is done to the officers under my

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charge. I have been only guilty of one crime, of being too lenient in dealing with them. There has never been a case of victimisation, of harsh treatment either of officers or members of the public. What more do you expect from a Minister? What greater certificate need I possess than the fact that during these 4½ years no serious complaint has been raised by the public. And in spite of the various executive acts, I am fortunate enough to retain the friendship and goodwill of a larger number of people than was the case when I assumed charge of these departments. These are the various reasons that induce me to think that the members guided by equity and fairness, who are not bound by party ties, will at least exercise their choice in a proper manner and record their votes in accordance with their conscience. I invite you gentlemen to turn the light under your own conscience and search your own hearts. I am referring to some other members who are not members of any party but who say we have already expressed that view. I say you ought to reconsider that view if your view is proved incorrect. I am appealing to them also to reconsider, if reconsiderations seem to be reasonable, seem to be appropriate and render their vote accordingly. I am, Sir, thankful to you for your generosity in giving me ample time to express my views.

Mr. A. V. Moothedan *(Chalakkudi):* Without interruption Sir, Mr. T. K. Nayar, the Leader of the Opposition has not spoken. If this motion is carried, the Minister will have to resign and the Leader of Opposition will naturally be called upon by the Maharaja to form a ministry.

Mr. President: How is it relevant here, Mr. Moothedan? How does it apply to this question?

Mr. A. V. Moothedan *(Chalakkudi):* We do not know whether he is for this motion or not, and if he is for the motion, on what grounds. He has not spoken a word. If he cannot speak, at least some explanation should be given by the mover.

Mr. C. V. Iyyu *(Kunnamkulam):* Mr. President Sir, I...

Dr. A.R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development):* Sir, I want to raise a point of order, whether the mover of the motion will have another chance, and if so, whether I will have also a chance of reply. It has not been the case here to allow anybody to speak after my speech in the case of such motions.

Mr. C. V. Iyyu *(Kunnamkulam):* Sir, the mover has a right of reply. But now, I do not insist upon my right to reply.

Motion put and carried

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Mr. M. K. Devassy *(Adur)*: A poll, Sir.

Poll

Ayes.	*Noes.*
1. Mr. E. Ikkanda Warriar.	1. Mr. L. M. Pylee.
2. Mr. T. P. Poulose.	2. Mr. A. V. Moothedan.
3. Mr. C. V. Iyyu.	3. Mr. N. Govinda Pai.
4. Mr. K. R. Achyutan.	4. Mr. A. Eachara Menon.
5. Mr. K. R. Viswambharan.	5. Mrs. Thankamma N. Menon.
6. Mr. T. K. Nayar.	6. Mrs. C. R. Iyyunni.
7. Mr. K. Ayyappan.	7. Mr. C. R. Iyyunni.
8. Mr. P. Achyuta Menon.	8. Mr. A. B. Salem.
9. Mr. M. K. Devassy.	9. Mr. Ismail Hajee Essa Sait.
10. Mr. K. S. Panicker.	10. Mr. Popatlal Goverdhan Lalan.
11. Mr. K. M. Ibrahim.	11. Mr. K. Kochukunhan Kaimal.
12. Mr. T. S. Ramachandra Ayyar.	12. Mr. P. K. Madhava Menon.
13. Mr. A. L. Antony.	13. Mr. P. Govinda Menon.
14. Mr. M. L. Joseph.	14. Mr. V. J. Mathai.
15. Mr. B. M. Peter.	15. Mr. M. Nanu Menon.
16. Mr. K. R. Ramakrishnan.	16. Mr. V. K. Kutty.
17. Mr. T. A. Ramachandra Ayyar.	17. Mr. S. S. Koder.
18. Mr. K. Ashtamurthi Nambudiripad.	18. Mr. P. K. Krishnan.
19. Mr. C. N. Ittiravi Nambudiri.	19. Dr. A. R. Menon.
20. Mr. C. Kunhan Nambudiripad.	
21. Mr. C. K. S. Moni.	
22. Mr. N. V. Subbarayan Chettiar.	

22 for and 19 against

Mr. President: I wish to congratulate the House on the high level of debate maintained in the course of discussion of this motion. I also thank the hon'ble members for their co-operation with the Chair in the discharge of its onerous duties.

The House adjourned sine die at 12-15 p.m.

C. J. MATHEW
Secretary to the Council

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